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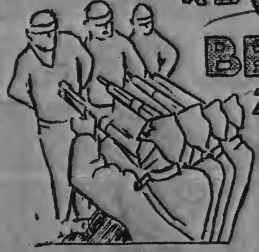
STALINISM BETRAYS THE SPANISH REVOLUTION



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***from THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, September 1936

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1903~1937

MARXISM or PETTY BOURGEOIS RADICALISM?

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THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION. CAPITULATION TO REFORMISM.

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MAY DAY MANIFESTO

To the Workers of the United States and Its Possessions!

May Day of 1941 finds the United States once again in the midst of a bloody war for the earth and all its riches. All the slogans of "Keeping American Out of War" are designed to conceal this fact from the workers. But AMERICA IS ALREADY FAR MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THIS WAR THAN SHE EVER BECAME IN THE LAST WORLD WAR. There is far more "aid to Britain" than there ever was during the last war. The mines, the mills, the great factories, even the little farms, have been carefully geared to a war-time production. All this is carried on under the talk of "national defense." In the name of "defense" participation in the world-wide slaughter is justified and carried through. The only thing thus far lacking is the direct participation of American ships and troops in the conflict. This results from the fact that no suitable field for such operation has yet offered itself, nor are the working masses of America yet ready to accept such participation. But the hour for this final step is close at hand.

Not only is America in thew war, but American imperialism shows itself as the MAIN DRIVING FORCE OF THIS WAR. Britain fights the war but America directs it. American imperialism cannot afford a European continent consolidated against her; American imperialism cannot afford a compromise between the British and the German-Italian-Japanese bloc which would inevitably weaken her in her objective of dominating the whole world.

Meanwhile America busily extends its tentacles further and further in the quest for world empire. She is gaining dominance over Australian policy today; and tomorrow she will strike a bitterharg in for Singapore and the Far East. The fabulous wealth of the orient - its rubber and tin, its precious ores and worldtrade routes, its strategic ports and military strongholds - all this is being relentlessly squeezed out of the British grasp; and America and Japan are struggling for who shall pick up the spoils.

In Latin America too, the United States extends her bloodby handof conquest. The Mexican government has become nothing but a subsidiary of Washington. Most of the Latin States have fallen in line without a murmur. Only in Argentina is there any resistance, and that is rapidly being liquidated by bribery and force in the form of "good will cruisers". The whole of Latin America falls prey to America's imperialism, and the Latin masses are reduced to furtherslavery to the "collosus of the North".

At home the scene is most ominous for the worker. The present strike wave, predicted by the Revolutionary Workers League months ago, is rising to new heights. The unmatchable solidarity of the Allis-Chalmers workers under the crushing pressure of the bosses; the shut-downs in the great plants (Ford, Bethlehem), the threatened walk-out in U.S. Steel, the soft-coal strike - all show labor's readiness to fight. But as the militancy of the working class rises to new heights, so too the betrayals by labor's leadership also rises to new heights. And the role of the capitalist class government is clearly shown here. Proposals to militarize labor, to draft all who strike, the disbarring of strikers from unemployment insurance, the talk of government's taking over struck "defense" industries, the threat to use federal troops in strikes - these point the road of the "New Deal". Meanwhile, great masses of

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SPEAKER
JOHN JAMES HOLLAND
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MY OBJECTIONS TO THE MAJORITY REPORT OF THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION

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BY JOSEPH MARTINEK,
editor of "Amer. Děl. Listy", Bohemian Socialist Weekly, Cleveland, O.

Before I state my objections to the majority report adopted by the St. Louis convention and now before the party membership, I must say a few words to those who believe their own ideas of socialism to be the only true ones and see treason in view that differ from their own, and to those who imagine that a socialist becomes a traitor to the party if he favors one or the other of the belligerent groups.

If it really were treason to take sides with one or the other of the belligerents — now it is called simply "being pro-war" — then the first traitor to socialism would have been no other than Karl Marx, with Ferdinand Lassalle a good second, followed by Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht, etc. These men never were neutral in wars; they always favored one or the other of the belligerents, and Marx and Lassalle even favored a war of aggression. In 1853 Marx favored England against Russia; in the Crimean war Marx and Engels sided with Austria against Russia, while Lassalle looked upon Austria as the greatest enemy of European progress In the Russo-Turkish war Marx, Engels and Liebknecht favored — Turkey! Kautsky opposed them. In the American Civil War Marx favored the North; in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870—71 he sided with Prussia at first, and with France after the surrender at Sedan. In the manifest of September 9, 1870, he warned the French workmen not to undertake anything against their Government during the crisis, but do their duty toward the State. (If Marx had been present at the St. Louis convention, comrade Wagenknecht of Cleveland would probably have moved to expel him from the party as he wanted to expel comrade Spargo.)

The wars mentioned above were all capitalist wars, and yet the founders of scientific socialism refused to be neutral. They always favored the side whose victory promised **better conditions for the working class movement.** I do not mention these things here as examples

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PROCLAMATION and WAR PROGRAM

The Socialist Party of the United States in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

Modern wars as a rule have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of agression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense", they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the workers.

They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred and false patriotism. They obscure the struggles of the workers for life, liberty and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organizations and to curtail their civic and political rights and liberties.

The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers. The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working-class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all.

The mad orgy of death and destruction which is now convulsing unfortunate Europe was caused by the conflict of capitalist interests in the European countries.

In each of these countries, the workers were oppressed and exploited. They produced enormous wealth but the bulk of it was withheld from them by the owners of the industries. The workers were thus deprived of the means to repurchase the wealth which they themselves had created.

The capitalist class of each country was forced to look for foreign markets to dispose of the accumulated "surplus" wealth. The huge profits made by the capitalists could no longer be profitably reinvested in their own countries, hence, they were driven to look for foreign fields of investment. The geographical boundaries of each modern capitalist country thus became too narrow for the industrial and commercial operations of its capitalist class.

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It was Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist Party's candidate for President, who sent from his prison cell in Atlanta a ringing message of cheer for the Irish people and of whole-hearted admiration for Terence McSwinney, and who called on all workingmen, on both sides of the Atlantic, to use their political and economic power to compel the withdrawal of English troops from Irish soil.

Debs spoke both for himself and his party. In its national and state conventions this year, and in its special national convention in 1919, the Socialist Party unequivocally demanded the immediate recognition of the Irish Republic.

Every Socialist vote cast in the United States this year will be a vote to put the whole weight of American influence on the side of political and social emancipation for the Irish and for all other oppressed peoples.

SOCIALIST PARTY CANDIDATES

For President		For Vice-President
Eugene V. Debs	⊗	Seymour Stedman

CANDIDATES FOR STATE OFFICES

		For Governor Joseph D. Cannon		X	For Treasurer Harriet Kruger
		For Lieutenant Governor Jessie W. Hughan		X	For Attorney General Darwin J. Meserole
	X	For Secretary of State Charles W. Noonan		X	For State Engineer Vladimir Karapetoff
	X	For Controller A. Phillip Randolph		X	For U. S. Senator Jacob Panken

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The Irish Voter and The Socialist Party

Brother Workers of Irish Race:

Your motherland is being crucified by imperialist England. The long agony of alien rule by the English usurper, with his allies in Ulster, is running its course to an infamous end. The Irish masses are the victims of that monstrous imperialist domination that is also strangling the aspirations of the weaker peoples of India, Egypt, Korea, and of Central Europe.

The consolidated imperialism of the victors is not merely English, Fre American or Japanese. [illegible] ion of them all, dominated by world fi and capital. The suffer [illegible] e Irish people are common to all others the rule of the imperial [illegible] sters of the world.

For centuries Irela [illegible] has been a martyr in a struggle for liberatio famines, the rack-renting, the ruthless robbery of the Irish peasants, t police régime, and the struggles of the Irish masses to be free of this régime, belong to universal history. Time after time the Irish people against this, only to be crushed by brute force.

Each struggle and each failure have made the issues clearer to the Irishman, wherever his abode might be. No one has explained its modern aspect better than the Irish Socialists, particularly James Connolly, he who was put to death in Dublin by an English court-martial on May 12, 1916. Connolly, the author of "Erin's Hope," "Socialism Made Easy," and the scholarly "Labor in Irish History," together with William O'Brien, Fred Ryan, Thomas Johnson and others, have maintained the continuity of the Irish Socialist movement since 1896.

Their message has been carried to all parts of Ireland, to Belfast, Dublin, Sligo, Waterford, Wexford, Cork, and many other towns and villages. It is uniting the Irish workers of both faiths in the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress. They seek an Irish Republic rooted in industrial democracy, the ideal of their Socialist comrades everywhere. They do not seek the kind of political independence that would substitute Irish landlords and capitalists for alien masters. They seek the reconquest of Ireland for the Irish masses, a Socialist Republic of Labor in which the soil and industries of Ireland will be owned and managed to serve the masses, not used to rob and exploit them.

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National Constitution of the Socialis

As Amended by National Referendum August 17, 1920

PREAMBLE

The Socialist Party of the United States is the political expression of the interests of the workers in this country, and is part of the international working-class movement.

The economic basis of modern day society is the private ownership and control of the socially necessary means of production, and the exploitation of the workers who operate these means of production for the profit of those who own them.

The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed. It is the interest of the capitalist class to maintain the present system and to obtain for themselves the largest possible share of the product of labor. It is the interest of the working class to improve their conditions of life and get the largest possible share of their own product so long as the present system prevails, and to end this system as quickly as they can.

In so far as the members of the opposing classes become conscious of these facts, each strives to advance its own interests as against the other. It is this active conflict of interests which we describe as the class struggle.

The capitalist class, by controlling the old political parties, controls the power of the state and uses them to secure and entrench its position. Without such control of the state its position of economic power would be untenable. The workers must wrest the control of the government from the hands of the masters and use the powers in the upbuilding of the new social order, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Socialist Party seeks to organize the working class for independent action on the political field, and help for the betterment of states conditions, but also and above all with the revolutionary aim of ending the class exploitation and class rule. Such political action is absolutely necessary to the emancipation of the working class, and the establishment of genuine liberty for all.

To accomplish this aim, it is necessary that the working class be powerfully and solidly organized also on the economic field, to struggle for the same revolutionary goal; and the Socialist Party pledges its aid in the task of promoting such industrial organization and waging such industrial struggle for emancipation.

The fundamental aim of the Socialist Party is to bring about the social ownership and democratic control of all the necessary means of production—to eliminate profit, rent and interest, and make it impossible for any to share the product without sharing the burden of labor to change our class society into a society of equals, in which the interest of one will be the interest of all.

As subordinate and accessory to this fundamental aim, it supports every measure which betters the conditions of the working class, and which increases the fighting power of that class within the present system.

ARTICLE I.
Name

Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in such states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

ARTICLE II.
Membership

Sec. 1. Political action within the meaning of this section is participation in elections for public offices and practical legislation and administration of the powers of government in order to abolish the present capitalist system and the substitution of the Co-Operative Commonwealth.

Sec. 2. Every person, resident of the United States of the age of twenty-one years and upward, without discrimination as to sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with all other political parties and political organizations, and subscribes to the principles of the Socialist Party, including political action and unrestricted political rights for both sexes, shall be eligible to membership in the party.

Sec. 3. No person holding an elective public office by gift of any party or organization other than the Socialist Party shall be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party without the consent of his state organization; nor shall any member of the party accept or hold any appointive public office, honorary or remunerative (Civil Service positions excepted), without the consent of his state organization. No party member shall be a candidate for public office without the consent of the city, county or state organization, according to the nature of the office.

Sec. 4. A member who desires to transfer his membership from the party in one state to the party in another state may do so upon the presentation of his card showing him to be in good standing at the time of asking for such transfer and also a transfer card duly signed by the secretary of the local from which he transfers.

Sec. 5. No member of the party, in any state or territory, shall, under any pretext, interfere with the regular or organized movement in any other state.

Sec. 6. All persons joining the Socialist Party shall sign the following pledge:

Application for Membership in the Socialist Party

"I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class organizing itself into a political party for the purpose of obtaining collective ownership and democratic administration and operation of the collectively used and socially necessary means of production and distribution, hereby apply for membership in the Socialist Party and enclose ..... for dues. I also subscribe for The Socialist World for the period of my membership, sixty cents of each year's dues paid by me, being for subscription to the publication.

"I have no relations (as member or supporter) with any other political party.

"I am opposed to all political organizations that support and perpetuate the present capitalist profit system, and I am opposed to any form of trading or fusing with any such organizations to prolong that system.

"In all my political actions while a member of the Socialist Party I agree to be guided by the constitution and platform of that party.

"Upon the acceptance of my application for membership in the Socialist Party, I promise within three months, wherever possible, to make application for citizenship."

ARTICLE III.
Management

Sec. 1. (a) The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by the National Executive Committee and national officials, the National Committee on Appeals, the National Conventions and the general vote of the party.

(b) The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members, elected by the National Convention at its annual session; not more than two shall be from one state. The committee shall take office immediately following its election and shall hold office until the next regular convention, and until their successors shall have been elected.

(c) The National Executive Committee shall be elected by secret ballot. The convention shall first elect seven members who shall constitute the National Executive Committee.

(d) The convention shall, by secret ballot, further elect seven additional members as alternates to the Executive Committee.

(e) A majority vote of all the votes cast at the convention shall be required to elect either the members of the Executive Committee or alternates to the Executive Committee.

(f) In case of a vacancy on the Executive Committee, it shall be filled by one of the alternates in the order of the vote they received.

Sec. 2. (a) Members of the National Executive Committee may be recalled by a referendum of the members of the party.

(b) A motion for the recall of any or all members of the National Executive Committee may be initiated by any one local, and shall require the seconds of locals with a membership of at least ten per cent of the total membership of the party, located in at least five different states.

Said motion may be accompanied by a statement of not more than 500 words.

(c) A motion to recall any or all members of the National Executive Committee shall be open for seconds for not more than 90 days, and shall be published in the party bulletin.

(d) Insufficient seconds are received before the expiration of 90 days, the National Secretary shall cancel the referendum out immediately.

(e) Motions for the recall of a member or members of the National Executive Committee failing to receive sufficient seconds during the time allowed for seconds shall be dropped and cannot be renewed again during the period of the service of the member or the committee.

(f) In submitting ballots to a vote on the recall of any or all members of the National Executive Committee, the local initiating the motion, and the member or members who are to be recalled, shall have the right to submit a statement giving the reasons for the recall or in the defense as the case may be, such statements not to exceed 1,000 words. This statement to be submitted with the ballots for a vote.

(g) If more than one member of the National Executive Committee is to be recalled, each member shall have the right to submit a statement of not more than 500 words, such statement to be submitted with the ballots for referendum vote.

(h) The time for voting on referendum for the recall of members of the National Executive Committee shall be 60 days from the time the ballots were sent out from the National Office, and all state, local or branch organizations must retain the individual ballots for at least six months, and must send them either to the state or National Office when demanded.

(i) Only members in good standing who have been in the party at least six months can vote on the recall of members of the National Executive Committee.

(j) Referendum for the recall of members of the National Executive

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The Communist International to the American Socialist Party

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Dear Comrades: The official notification from the Socialist party of the United States of affiliation to the Communist International, accompanied by the resolution adopted by referendum, has been brought before the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

We are in possesion also of the report of the National Convention of the Socialist party held in New York in May, 1920, containing the resolution upon international relations, adopted by the convention in place of that previously adopted by referendum, also the resolution, presented by Victor Berger.

Since the resolutions will be submitted to referendum once more, it is necessary to examine all three. All that can be said of Berger's resolution is, first, that it is honestly reactionary; and, second, that we are surprised that it could be offered in a convention of a party which calls itself Socialist.

Concerning the minority resolution—which, except for the addition of George Lanshury's opinion of what Lenin thought about conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, is the same as the resolution adopted by referendum—there is more to say.

It begins with a long preamble condemning the Second International—a formula which has become so common, even to the parties of the Right, that it has ceased to have any meaning. The section dealing with the Communist International reads as follows:

"The Socialist party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third (Moscow) International, not so much because it supports the 'Moscow' programs and methods, but because:

"(a) 'Moscow is doing something which is really challenging to world imperialism.

"(b) 'Moscow is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

"(c) 'Under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to Moscow afterward, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now, because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist republics in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for years to come."

"The reasons stated for affiliation to the Communist International have nothing to do with Communism, and indeed imply very serious reservations concerning what the author calls "Moscow" programs and methods—by which we take it Communism.

It is, of course, very gratifying to have the sympathy of the American Socialist party because the Communist International is "threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world." This is, however, hardly a valid reason for a party's wishing to join the Communist International, or for the Communist International to accept such a party. But there is no other reason given, except that the Communist International is "doing something" which is "challenging to world imperialism" just what, the author evidently prefers to conceal from the American proletariat.

This resolution evidently is based on a misconception of the role of the Communist International. The Communist International is in no sense a defensive organization. It is an organ of aggression, the general staff of the world revolution, for the forcible overthrow of the capitalist state everywhere, and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Concerning questions of principle and fundamental aims, it is impossible to consider what the American Socialist party "may have to say to Moscow afterwards."

On the contrary, the Communist International has something to say to parties desiring to affiliate, before they are accepted.

The Communist International is not "Moscow," but a centralized and disciplined organization now comprising the great majority of the revolutionary working class parties of the world. The Second Congress, just ended, included representatives of the revolutionary vanguard of all countries. There were also present the French Socialist party and the German Democratic party, which only a few months ago were engaged in trying to form the "Two-and-a-half" International, by means of a conference at which the centrist parties would dominate, which would establish a basis for resistance to Communism, a center of sabotage of the world revolution. It is this idea which animates the Hillquit, or majority, resolution adopted by the Socialist party convention, with the exception that neither the Germans nor the French party have ever dared to declare themselves against the dictatorship of the proletariat, as has been done by the Socialist party of the United States.

This scheme has failed, because the working class of the world is in favor of placing itself under the leadership of the Communist International and the leaders of the centrist parties, pushed onward by pressure of the masses, now come to us desiring admission to the Communist International. This is even more true of the Hillquits and Lees of the American party, who even while they declare themselves opposed to the principles of the Communist International, yet do not dare to withdraw from it.

And to all these parties the Communist International replies:

The Communist International is not a hotel, where travelers may come with their own baggage and carry on their private affairs. The Communist International is an army in wartime; volunteers who join the army of revolution must adopt its principles and obey its orders, submit to its discipline. None but revolutionary Communist parties are accepted in the Communist International. They must adopt as their program the program of the Communist International—open revolutionary mass struggle for Communism, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, by means of workers' Soviets—accepting and binding all resolutions of the congresses and executive committees of the Communist International. They must create a strongly centralized form of organization, a military discipline; all party members in public office, in the labor unions, in all forms of public activity, must be absolutely subject to the full-powered central committee of the party, which is the supreme organ directing all the phases of party work.

They must consistently denounce bourgeois democracy and social patriotism, and also the hypocrisy of social pacifism; they must systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state no talk of disarmament, no international arbitration, no League of Nations can save mankind from new imperialistic wars.

They must immediately break with reformism and the policy of the centrists; they must expel from their ranks all non-revolutionary elements, all opportunist leaders; they must sever all connections with the petty bourgeoisie and prepare for revolutionary action, for merciless civil war.

The report of the May convention of the Socialist party proves very clearly that this party is very far indeed from specification above outlined.

The declaration of principles adopted is an affront to the working class. It alone, if indorsed by the membership, is sufficient to separate the Socialist party of the United States from the revolutionary movement.

The rejection of the resolution indorsing the dictatorship of the proletariat is of course inadmissible in any party seeking to join the Communist International. And we do not know a single Socialist party in the world which has equalled the action of the American party in abolishing from its constitution two years after the world war the provision forbidding legislative representatives to vote for military appropriations.

Up to the present the American Socialist party has been considered a centrist party, but it definitely abandons all Socialist pretensions, it definitely enters the ranks of the bourgeois reform parties, with the adoption of the following declaration:

"Its (the Socialist Party's) ultimate aim in politics is to secure a majority in congress and in every state legis-

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John Reed Memorial

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1921

AT

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE

67th STREET AND THIRD AVE., N. Y. CITY

JOHN REED

DIED OCTOBER 17th, 1920

Souvenir Program

AUSPICES NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

NEW YORK DIVISION

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#124

Socialist Party Platform

New York City Municipal Campaign

1929

THE Socialist Party of New York proposes here the first steps towards the building of a new city.

It would be a city where those who are making its wealth by work of hand and brain would receive their full rewards in the shape of greater opportunities for leisure and higher living standards. It would be a city whose citizens could live as free men and women, working together for the good things of life rather than competing in a drab struggle for existence.

The immediate program which follows must always be viewed in terms of our ultimate goal which is to give to the working men and women of New York a government which will conserve their interests and those of their children, be vigilant against greed and exploitation and at all times be at the efficient service of the majority of the people.

What must be done, and done now, if indeed we are to make any real start towards this constructive program, is to create an independent political party courageous, militant, and determined to combat both the corruption of the Tammany machine and the reaction and hypocrisy of the Republicans.

As we hail the victory of our comrades in Great Britain, we are reminded that their rise to power followed many years application of municipal Socialism in the cities and counties of Great Britain. It will not be otherwise in America.

To the making of our Party, we summon those who see with us a City of the Future, very different indeed from the New York of 1929. Inefficiency, extravagance and corruption have become the accepted rule. Scarcely a department of the Walker administration is without its scandal. The Queens Borough sewer and paving scandal, the Equitable Bus scandal, the milk scandal, the pushcart scandal, the Street Cleaning Department scandal, the demoralization of the police as evidenced by the unpunished Rothstein and Marlow murders and other killings—these are but a few of the more notorious offences of the City Administration against common decency.

The rebuilding of our city calls for dealing first with pressing and vital problems affecting the everyday lives of our people. The more outstanding of these problems are:

fol 754 X-JK 2391 S6

NEW YORK STATE PLATFORM

SOCIALIST PARTY, 1930

#125

PREAMBLE

TWO years ago the Socialist Party alone spoke the truth about the spotted and highly exaggerated prosperity of America. Today an army of millions of unemployed bears tragic witness to the inevitable failure of a capitalist system run for private profit to provide even elementary security for workers. The economic depression now sweeping the country has brought bitter misery into the lives and homes of millions of workers.

We also called attention to the inevitable growth of mergers under the capitalist system. Chain stores, chain banks, and public utility combinations have displaced hundreds of thousands of independent economic lives; and have further concentrated power and control of the country in the hands of capitalist magnates. This speaks louder than words for collective ownership and social control of the vital industries.

With these facts in mind, we call again on workers in factory, farm, home, school, and office to unite in their own political party and to organize on the economic field to win for the people ownership and control of those things necessary for their common life, to the end that Plenty, Peace and Freedom be established among us.

The old parties, both belonging to the same interests, both tools of the owning class, have failed not only in fundamental issues but even in the immediate task of efficient and progressive government.

The Republican majority in the legislature has done nothing except to yield minor concessions wrung from it by pressure of public demand. It took the Socialist proposal for old-age pensions and perverted it into a mere annex of the poor law.

Political strategy has forced the Democrats to make some show of liberalism, but

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THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE!

MUNICIPAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

#126

Mayoralty Election, 1932

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For Mayor, MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE resignation of Mayor Walker under charges gives the people of New York an opportunity to bring a new spirit into the government of this great city.

The Socialist Party has for years been directing public attention to the bribery, extortion, and other abuses which have prevailed in the city administration and the lower courts. The Seabury investigation has more than justified all our charges. Public officials have been revealed as hired servants of big business on the one hand and as in alliance with the criminal underworld on the other. The Equitable Bus deal, the Bronx street-cleaning graft, the Queens sewer graft, the system of blackmail in the Magistrates' Courts, the protection of crooks and gunmen by the Police Department, the connivance of the Health Department at the selling of impure milk, and corruption and malfeasance in the Dock Department, in the Department of Licenses, in the Department of Hospitals, in the Bureau of Standards and Appeals, in the Sinking Fund Commission—these are but the outstanding items in a long calendar of scandals which has been brought to light.

A few guilty officials have been convicted. A few more have been removed from office or forced to resign. But the heart of the evil has not been touched. The corrupt machine is still intact. Nothing but a decisive defeat at the polls will prevent it from renewing its criminal practices as soon as public interest has subsided.

Neglect of the Unemployed

The provision made by the Tammany administration for relief to the unemployed has been shamefully inadequate. More than fifty thousand families have been left in utter destitution. Another forty-six thousand who are

61-2-9-2-757

Does the National Platform of the Socialist Party for 1932

Answer: *Who Wants the New Deal?*

#127

It is common knowledge that the Democratic Platform promises have been only recognized in the breach. If, as here pointed out, the explanation is that the Democratic Platform was—after it had decoyed the necessary votes—jettisoned in favor of the Socialistic Platform, does not at least the inference logically follow that the Socialistic left element merely used the Democratic Party and its candidates as a sort of Trojan Horse in which to ride to control under cover?

League For Constitutional Government

National Platform	Socialist Party, '32	The New Deal Answers
It proposes to transfer the principal industries of the country from private ownership and autocratic, cruelly inefficient management to social ownership and democratic control. Only by these means will it be possible to organize our industrial life on a basis of planned and steady operation without periodic breakdowns and disastrous crises.		"Redistribution of Wealth"—"Planned Economy"—Result: Increase of Government bureaucracy and destruction of the individual property right guaranteed under the American form of Government.
Unemployment and Labor Legislation		**Unemployment and Labor Legislation**
1. A federal appropriation of $5,000,000,000 for immediate relief for those in need, to supplement state and local appropriations.		1. The FERA Act of 1933 approved May 12, 1933, stated as its purpose, "to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several states in relieving the hardship and suffering by unemployment." $950,000,000 for this act appropriated in 1934 and $3,300,000,000 for National Industrial Recovery appropriated in 1934.
2. A federal appropriation of $5,000,000,000 for public works and roads, reforestation, slum clearance and decent homes for the workers, by federal government, states and cities.		2. The President received a blank check for $4,880,000,000 in 1935 for this purpose.
3. Legislation providing for the acquisition of land, buildings and equipment necessary to put the unemployed to work producing food, fuel and clothing and for the erection of houses for their own use.		3. Covered by the FSHC, Federal Subsistance Homesteads Corporation, and ECW, Emergency Conservation Works (which directs the Civilian Conservation Corps).
4. The six-hour day and the five-day week without a reduction of wages.		4. Covered in NRA codes, and the Socialistic Wagner Labor Bill which has the support of the "Brain Trust."
5. A comprehensive and efficient system of free public employment agencies.		
6. A compulsory system of unemployment compensation with adequate benefits, based on contributions by the government and by employers.		6. Covered by the Social Security Bill.
7. Old-age pensions for men and women sixty years of age and over.		7. Covered by the Social Security Bill.
8. Health and maternity insurance.		8. Covered by the Social Security Bill.
9. Improved systems of workmen's compensation and accident insurance.		9. Covered by the Social Security Bill.
10. The abolition of child labor.		10. Covered by NRA codes, and "Brain Trust" desires to have the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution ratified which will regiment the youth of America under Federal control.

Special Conference

61 - 7559 - 2 - 4159

#128

LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

SEP 1 - 1948

REPORT

of the

American Delegates

I. Majority report
   David H. Felix
   Maynard Krueger
   Edward Levinson
   Clarence Senior

II. Minority report
   Jacob Panken

III. Transcript of Krueger's speech

IV. Resolutions A. Adopted by the conference
   B. Presented by the conference minority

Socialist Party of America 549 W. Randolph St. Chicago, Illinois

61-7 X-JK 2391 .S6
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1934 STATE PLATFORM SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW YORK

New York State Committee, Socialist Party

The Socialist Party comes before the people of New York State as the party of labor by hand and brain dedicated to a new social order in which a life of security and plenty will be the heritage of all. It pledges itself to the ~~establishment~~ of a co-operative commonwealth, a socialist society, wherein the basic industries and services of the nation will be publicly owned and democratically managed for the common good.

We are in the fifth year of the worst depression in our history. Millions of manual, skilled, "white collar" workers, farmers, and members of professions, are unemployed. Some two million are idle in New York State alone. Millions are living as charity wards of private and public agencies. A vast army of our people have lost their homes and their savings of a lifetime. The middle class is faced with increasing insecurity and poverty. A new tragic class of permanently unemployed is forming. Hundreds of thousands of our youth are denied all opportunity and face the future without hope. Crime, suicide, slow starvation of children and adults and utter physical and mental demoralization are increasing evils in our national life.

This overwhelming disaster that has come to all useful workers is mainly due to the ownership and control by a handful of capitalists and bankers of the industries, raw materials, machinery, transportation, banks and utilities. This monopoly by a small class has brought a sharp antagonism of interest between these owners and the masses whom they exploit, a class struggle breaking out in strikes, lockouts, marches of exploited farmers and workers to obtain control of the governing powers.

The capitalist system, while yielding vast fortunes to the great owners of industry, has shown itself ever more incapable of guaranteeing even the minimum necessities of life to the masses. This system must go.

The present order means recurring and ever more tragic breakdowns in our industrial machin-

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Do You Want Another War?

#130

The masters of America are getting ready for another holocaust—another World War. Three hundred thousand young men are being given semi-military drill in Civilian Conservation Corps, "an achievement," says Harry H. Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War, which "was the first real test of the army's plans for war mobilization." A billion dollars is being spent to increase the size of the United States navy!

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The war for which our rulers prepare can be stopped only by the organization of the workers to resist it. The lessons of the last war are so horrible that the workers cannot allow the present drift to war to continue unless they care nothing for their children, their wives, their homes, their lives.

In May, 1917, one month after the United States had declared war, the Socialist party, the only large organization in the country that fought the war consistently, issued millions of leaflets which warned the workers what would happen. The leaflet is exactly reproduced here.

Thousands of Socialists were then imprisoned. Eugene V. Debs was sentenced to ten years in Atlanta penitentiary. The entire national executive committee of the party was sentenced to twenty years.

Every line of this leaflet is as true today as when it was written, and it has seventeen years of experience to prove its truth.

Proclamation And War Program

The Socialist Party of the United States in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

Modern wars as a rule have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense," they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the workers.

They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred and false patriotism. They obscure the struggles of the workers for life, liberty and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organizations and to curtail their civic and political rights and liberties.

The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists

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EVALUATION OF THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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BUFFALO, MARCH 22-24, 1935

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY PUB'G ASS'N
BOX 125 GRAND CENT. ANNEX, NYC

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

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FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA

SEP 1 9 1978

1936 National Platform Socialist Party

For President: NORMAN THOMAS
Vice President: GEORGE A. NELSON

A Constructive Program
A Call to Action . . .

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Celebrate

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20th ANNIVERSARY

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Speakers:

MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor, New International

MANNY GARRETT
Editor, Challenge

E. R. McKINNEY
City Organizer, Socialist Party (Left Wing)

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8th, 1937
8 P.M.

IRVING PLAZA
IRVING PLACE AND 15th STREET

Auspices: SOCIALIST PARTY
(LEFT WING)

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INTERNAL BULLETIN #134
Published by
ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION
116 UNIVERSITY PL., N.Y.C.
Number:- 4
NO. 4 NEW YORK, DEC. 1937

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N O T E

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1940 X-JK 2941 . J6 #135

Petition to Form a New Political Party

We, the undersigned legally qualified voters of the STATE OF ILLINOIS, in our own proper persons and in accordance with the laws relating thereto, do hereby declare our intention to form a new political party in the State of Illinois, to be known as the SOCIALIST PARTY, and make the following nominations of candidates of the SOCIALIST PARTY for the offices hereinafter specified, to be voted for at the election to be held in the State of Illinois on the Fifth Day of November A. D. 1940, namely:

Name of Candidate	Residence Address	Party	Office to be Filled
NORMAN THOMAS	235 East 22nd St., New York, New York	Socialist	President of the United States of America
MAYNARD C. KRUEGER	6830 University Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Vice-President of the United States of America
ARTHUR G. McDOWELL	700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Governor
JOE TONIELLI	806 East Bluff, Marseilles, Illinois	Socialist	Lieutenant Governor
CLARENCE H. MAYER	316 Fayette St., Pekin, Illinois	Socialist	United States Senator
MORDECAI SHULMAN	1632 S. Trumbull Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Secretary of State
GEORGIA ALBRIGHT	820 S. Utica St., Waukegan, Illinois	Socialist	Auditor of Public Accounts
INA M. WHITE	5709 S. Harper Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	State Treasurer
KELLAM FOSTER	11453 Longwood Drive, Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Attorney General
KATE M. WARD	5146 Belden Ave., Downers Grove, Illinois	Socialist	Trustee of University of Illinois
JACK SESSIONS	3932 S. Lake Park Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Trustee of University of Illinois
EVA S. COWAN	1505 N. Dearborn Pkwy., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Trustee of University of Illinois
HARRY FLEISCHMAN	3932 S. Lake Park Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Congressman At Large
LEE S. GREGORY	4742 Forestville Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Congressman At Large
JANET McDOWELL	700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 1st Congressional District
FLORENCE KRECHEFSKY	5416 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 2nd Congressional District
VIRGIL VOGEL	6129 S. Green St., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 3rd Congressional District
JUSTIN ZAITZ	3039 S. Millard Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 4th Congressional District
VITTORIO BUTTIS	1535 Roosevelt Rd., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 5th Congressional District
ANTON JECMEN	3631 Gundarson Ave., Berwyn, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 6th Congressional District
ROBERT ROGERS	5942 N. Kostner Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 7th Congressional District
R. C. DENSMORE	949 Madison St., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 8th Congressional District
ARTHUR STREITELMEIER	947 Newport Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 9th Congressional District
PAUL ALBRIGHT	820 S. Utica St., Waukegan, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 10th Congressional District
MARY RHODES	Prairie Ave., Downers Grove, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 11th Congressional District
WILLIAM HUETTEMAN	2721 Second St., Peru, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 12th Congressional District
JOSEPH SCHMIDEKAMP	Lanark, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 13th Congressional District
RALPH GIPE	1120 Second Ave., Rock Island, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 14th Congressional District
A. H. STAGGS	214 N. East St., Geneseo, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 15th Congressional District
FRED HAMMAN	712 McLean St., Pekin, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 16th Congressional District
JAMES MANNING	Leroy, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 17th Congressional District
HARRY L. DIEHL	Gibson City, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 18th Congressional District
JOHN BRANSON	1352 E. Logan St., Decatur, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 19th Congressional District
RAYMOND PIGGOTT	Route 1, Jerseyville, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 20th Congressional District
CRAIG EASTON	521 Park St., Gillespie, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 21st Congressional District
ELEANOR BURNS	2115 Delmar Ave., Granite City, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 22nd Congressional District
O. B. BAGSHAW	West York, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 23rd Congressional District
CECIL ABNEY	Harrisburg, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 24th Congressional District
WILLIAM COX	302 S. Illinois St., Carbondale, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector 25th Congressional District
IRENE ALLARD	6511 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector At Large
ASHER FINKEL	1868 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector At Large
PERCY JACKSON	3527 Cottage Grove Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector At Large
MICHAEL PRETULA	941 N. Fairfield Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Socialist	Presidential Elector At Large

We hereby certify that we have not subscribed to any other nominations for said offices to be voted upon at the election to be held November 5, 1940

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#136

ANNOUNCING

VICTORY'S VICTIMS?

THE NEGRO'S FUTURE

BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AND NORMAN THOMAS

PAMPHLET #1 IN A NEW SOCIALIST PARTY SERIES

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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
SECTIONS IN GREATER NEW YORK CITY
61 Cliff Street
New York 8, N.Y.

61-7559-2-207

Dec. 18, 1945

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Dear WEEKLY PEOPLE Reader:

World War II was terminated last August, a barbarous slaughter was concluded for the time being, and we are about to celebrate the first peacetime Christmas in five years. However, the Socialist Labor Party points out that while the military conflict has ended, the CLASS CONFLICT STILL RAGES, more fiercely, in fact, than ever.

One side of the class war is the capitalist class, that class which owns the means whereby the rest of us live. The other side is the working class, that class which does not own, but which alone can manage and operate the means of wealth production.. In this war, capitalist spokesmen and apologists are engaged on the one side versus the Socialist Labor Party on the other.

The matter of greatest importance to the future welfare of mankind is to enable the Socialist Labor Party to carry on ITS "ideological warfare," not only without interruption, but with increased resources and undiminished strength and vigor. We are not exaggerating in saying this. Even if the Socialist Labor Party were only a spark in this present dark hour, it would still be of paramount importance to keep alive that spark, for from that spark shall come the conflagration which at last must and will cleanse the world of the great evil brought about by the body- and mind-destroying system of capitalism, now gasping in its death-struggle -- the conflagration that shall set free the oppressed and exploited people the world over, and enable them to build the new, ATTAINABLE, world of freedom, peace and plenty.

Sections of the Socialist Labor Party in Greater New York have assumed the responsibility of making individual appeals to the readers in this city and vicinity for a generous contribution to the Christmas Box of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the fighting official organ of the Socialist Labor Party. We ask you to use the blank form below to send your contribution to the --

WEEKLY PEOPLE CHRISTMAS BOX

in whatever amount your circumstances may make possible. Give us your aid NOW, for no one knows what the morrow may bring.

Yours sincerely and fraternally,

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
SECTIONS IN GREATER NEW YORK

(Tear here)

Date.....

Socialist Labor Party
Sections in Greater N.Y.
61 Cliff St.
New York 8, N.Y.

Dear Comrades:

I am enclosing my 1945 CHRISTMAS BOX contribution of $_____. In the acknowledgment in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, please print my name as

Name_____

Address_____

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28th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

of the

#139

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

HOTEL DIPLOMAT

•

108 West 43rd St.

6th Avenue and 43rd St.

New York City

•

SUNDAY

NOV. 4th

•

8 P. M.

•

Admission 25¢

The above painting by Diego Rivera depicts the international character of the October 1917 Revolu
led by Lenin and Trotsky—the two central figures in the painting. Around them are grouped workers of diff
ent races and nationalities, united by the revolution in solidarity against capitalist exploitation and oppressi
Stalin's cynical betrayal of everything the October revolution signified to the toiling masses of the we
constitutes one of the most monstrous crimes in history.

JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, one of the founders and prominent leaders of American Communism, will speak on the historical significance of the Russian Revolution.

Other Speakers

TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES

in New York City Elections

FARRELL DOBBS

Editor of The Militant

FOR MAYOR

LOUISE SIMPSON

Member Int'l Ladies Garment Workers Union

FOR CITY COUNCIL

Auspices: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY—NEW YORK LOCAL

VOTE TROTSKYIST

(c) 7550-2-3836

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WHY SOCIALISTS #140 PAY DUES

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Issued by the National Committee of the Socialist Party

THE Socialist Party, being a party run by and for the wage-working class, and those in sympathy with it, proceeds upon the theory that the workers, as a class, must emancipate themselves from wage-slavery, and must consequently develop their own capacity for this great purpose.

Hence, while welcoming all assistance from individuals of other classes who are in sympathy with its objects and aims, the Socialist Party relies, first, last and all the time, on the working class for its support politically and otherwise. Not being a paternal organization, the means for the party's maintenance must come almost wholly from the members of the organization.

Experience having demonstrated that the party cannot trust to luck in the conduct of its affairs, nor rely upon haphazard donations for its revenues, it has established the dues-paying system, which is in vogue in the party throughout the world.

Objections to the Dues-Paying System.

There are those who object to the dues-paying system in our party on the following grounds:

1. It humiliates impoverished members and applicants for membership.
2. "It places the dollar above the man."
3. No other political party has such a system.

Objections Answerd.

The first reason is strictly Utopian. "Poverty is no disgrace," but is the logical result of the competitive system. This being so, it is foreign to the spirit of our movement for members or applicants to feel "humiliated" because they cannot pay dues.

Our dues system exacts payments from those who

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THE BLUE EAGLE IS DEAD — SO WHAT!

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By

AUGUST CLAESSENS

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NEW YORK SOCIALIST PARTY

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A Word to Railroad Men

#142

FELLOW-WORKINGMEN:

Do you know that your brothers in Philadelphia are on strike? Do you know what compelled them to strike? By means of what is known as "swing runs" they were obliged to work as long as 18 hours a day, and for poor pay at that. They had to purchase their uniforms from a contractor who charged a much higher price than they would have had to pay elsewhere.

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This is the second strike of the employees of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit. The first took place last May. At that time the men were having the best of the fight. The politicians began to fear that if the strike were carried over the primary elections they would suffer serious consequences. At the request of the politicians the company yielded to the demands of the men and settled the strike. Now what happens? No sooner is the election over than the company begins to violate its

Organizer, Socialist Party

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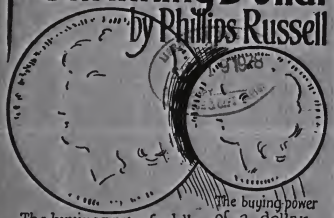
The Shrinking Dollar

by Phillips Russell



You—the man who reads this article; and I—the man who writes it; if we met casually somewhere and fell into conversation we should probably talk about a number of things. But if it turned out that you were a bricklayer and I confessed that I was a book agent, we should probably have difficulty in understanding each other until we struck one topic; the damnably high cost of living.

Right there we would meet on common ground.

It is likely that we would find ourselves so loaded with opinions that one could hardly wait until the other left off.

I think I can see you knock the ashes out of your

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Exchange Desk

"Make An End Of War"

by Walter Thomas Mills, M. A.

"Big Business And War"

by Charles Edward Russell

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*VOTE "YES"

#145

*SOCIALIST PARTY MEMBERS:

VOTE "YES" IN THE REFERENDUM

on the

"DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES"

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THE Revolutionary Policy Committee wishes to inform the Socialist Party membership of its position on the Declaration of Principles. In determining our vote in the referendum on the Declaration, we recognize two separate issues. Because of the developing organizational struggle within the Party between the defenders of a *sterile legalism* on the one hand and the variegated activists who support the Declaration's *militant pacifism* on the other hand, we choose and urge all Party members to support the latter in the matter of organizational control. The issue of sterile legalism *versus* militant pacifism does not however pose for us a straight *left-right* struggle within the Party. We recognize, in addition to the organizational question which has arisen in the Party, the necessity for clear principles of revolutionary socialism. The referendum affords an opportunity for the discussion of socialist fundamentals which all members of the Party should welcome eagerly. To this end we submit our criticism of the Declaration of Principles.

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Your money *and* ~~or~~ your life!

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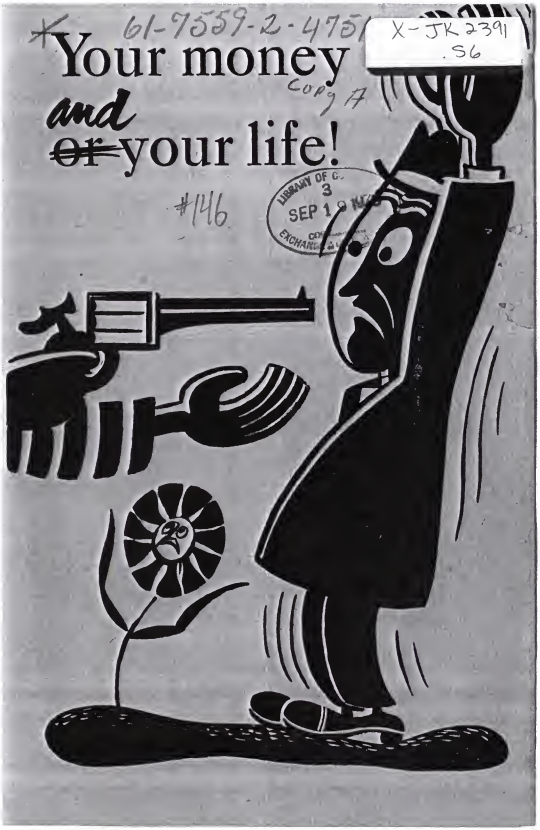

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MILITARISM OR SOCIALISM?

(What is Wrong with the Polish Federation of the Socialist Party?)

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OUR STRIKE-BREAKING GOVERNMENTS

#149

BY JAMES H. MAURER

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The spectacular open shop drive, launched over two years ago by the National Manufacturers' Association and Chambers of Commerce, at the behest of their Wall Street masters, has, to date, met defeat at almost every turn. Their much-advertised American plan of emancipation for the toilers from labor union interference, failed to take hold. Millions were spent to inform the dear public of their love for free labor, whom they believed should be left free to work and scab whenever and wherever the employers needed them and at such wages and hours as they, the employers, felt free to pay; that the high cost of living could not come down unless wages came down first and wages were cut all along the line, not once, or twice, but, in some cases, three and four times.

But the cost of living did not come down to any noticeable extent. In fact, rents went up.

Strikes and lockouts, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were the results and, while the industrial depression did make inroads on the membership of Organized Labor, the open shop drive did not. As a matter of fact, the drive had the effect of drawing the workers closer together. Finally the drive reached the backbone of the American Labor Movement when it crossed swords with the United Mine Workers and the railroad shop crafts.

After nearly four months' effort to starve the miners into submission the Wall Street bankers were terribly shocked when informed by the operators that there had been practically no desertions from the ranks of Organized Labor and that about 75,000 non-union miners had joined the organized ranks; that coal production had fallen off accordingly. Besides, the striking railroad shop crafts were growing stronger as the strike grew older and that all roads were crippled and some entirely out of commission. And this, in spite

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What Is Socialism?

#150

Socialism stands for a new civilization.

It is a world-wide movement of the working class for better food, better clothing, better homes, more education and culture—in short, a more abundant life.

Socialism starts out with two terrific propositions:

1. All men are brothers, not merely brothers in name, but brothers in fact, with a common blood, common interest, common cause. The welfare of one is the brotherly concern of all of us, and being brothers, all war and strife and hatred should cease.

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2. The things that men need in common should be owned in common and supplied for the common good, not for private profit.

With these ideas in mind the Socialists make some very definite, constructive proposals.

In the political field we demand the rule of the people, that is, political democracy.

In the economic field we demand the public ownership and democratic management of public utilities, that is, industrial democracy.

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS

Broadly speaking, Socialism means—

First: That the means of production and distribution of wealth which are social and public in nature shall be publicly owned. This will include the coal, oil and iron lands, the rivers, forests, and other natural resources. It will also include all the great public utilities such as railroads, telegraph, express companies, and in short, all the great trusts and monopolies.

Second: That all social utilities, being collectively owned, shall be under democratic control for the benefit of all who work, in order that profit-making, whereby one person exploits another, shall be abolished.

Third: That all who are able shall be given opportunity to labor in the collectively owned industries, and each shall receive the full social value of the product of his labor.

Fourth: That each shall have for his own private property all that his labor earns of food and clothing, shelter, house and home—books, music, education, and culture.

Fifth: That the government, municipal, state and national, shall be made truly democratic, so that the will and wish of people may be the law of the land.

WHAT THE AUTHORITIES SAY

Against these simple, straightforward proposals of Socialism there has been let loose a flood of misrepresentation. It is said to be anarchy, atheism, free love, "dividing-up" and a lot of stupid and impossible things.

No intelligent person holds these views, and anyone who would take the pains to turn to an ordinary dictionary or encyclopedia would soon learn differently.

We quote a few recognized authorities:

"Socialism: A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations than that which has hitherto prevailed."—Webster's Dictionary.

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What Is Socialism?

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Socialism stands for a new civilization.

It is a world-wide movement of the working class for better food, better clothing, better homes, more education and culture—in short, a more abundant life.

Socialism starts out with two terrific propositions, to wit:

1. All men are brothers, not merely brothers in name, but brothers in fact, with a common blood, common interests, common cause. THE WELFARE OF ONE IS THE BROTHERLY CONCERN OF ALL OF US, and being brethren, all war and strife and hatred should cease.

2. The things that men need in common should be owned in common and supplied for the common good, not for private profit.

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In the economic field we demand the public ownership and operation of public utilities.

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Fourth: That each shall have for his own private property all that his labor earns of food and clothing, shelter, house and home—books, music, education, and culture.

Fifth: That the government, municipal, state and national, shall be made truly democratic, so that the will and wish of the people may be the law of the land. This will be accomplished by means of the initiative, referendum, recall and othe measures making for popular government.

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.56 RESOLUTION ON THE PROPOSAL OF THE WORKERS PARTY

Committee on Resolutions (Wolfe)

#152

A communication of the Workers Party, addressed to the national convention of the Socialist Party proposes the organization of a "united front". This coalition is proposed in order to promote:

1. Amalgamation of the trade unions;
2. To protect foreign born workers;
3. To repudiate the Vienna Union, the Amsterdam International of Trade unions, and the Second International;
4. To support the recognition of Soviet Russia;
5. To remove certain governmental obstacles hindering the struggle of the workers;
6. To bring about a nation-wide Labor Party.

After a careful consideration of this proposal, the national convention of the Socialist Party resolves to send the following answer to the Workers' Party:

PUBLICATION FILE

It is our earnest conviction that, if the Communists had urged organizations of the working class to form a united front at the end of the World War, "regardless of political differences", as the Workers Party now urges, this front would have been established five years ago. Instead of this policy, the Communist International pursued a deliberate policy of division. It ordered splits in every country. It sowed hatreds and dissensions among the working class. It destroyed all possibility of solidarity of the workers in each nation. It brought civil war into the organizations of the workers.

This policy was all the more criminal considering that the allied ruling classes were consolidating the loot of the imperialist war. This policy was continued down to so recent a period as one year ago. It was continued even while the ruling classes were making assaults upon all organizations of the workers. The result was pessimism, weakness, and even prostration before the capitalist enemy.

Having split the organizations of the workers until no more splits were possible, the Communist International then adopted the slogan of the "united front". It agreed to meet with the Second International and the Vienna Union in Berlin, April, 1922. The negotiations failed to effect a "united front". Even before the conference met in Berlin, the Executive Committee of the Third International, in a meeting held the previous December, formulated a document defining what Communists mean by the "united front".

In this statement no secret was made of the Communists' intention to stifle us and poison us in their embrace. One paragraph of this document of the Executive Committee of the Communist International read:

"Comrades of the Third International, there is a movement on foot in Europe for a united front. It does not matter whether we are in favor of it or not; our tactics compel us to APPEAR TO BE IN FAVOR OF IT; but we ask the Communist sections all over Europe to take part in the creation of the united front, NOT FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING IT EFFECTIVE, but for the purpose of STRENGTHENING THE COMMUNISTS through direct propaganda inside organizations taking part in the movement."

Here we have an authoritative statement of the highest body in the Communist International defining what Communists mean by a "united Fron

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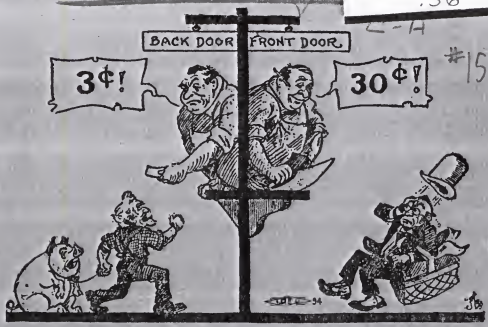

Nothing will solve the farmers' problem until we put a stop to this.

The Farce of Farm Relief

By GEORGE A. NELSON

During the last few years Congress and the various State Legislatures have been trying to help the farmer and to prevent the loss of his farm by foreclosure. But at the same time the Legislatures have been trying to save the profit system and make sure that the big processors and manufacturers of farm machinery and all the other vested interests which live off the farmer are protected. Therefore all that they have done and all that they can do has not and will not save the farmer.

Many of the bills give the farmer more time to pay, but when he has no money, all such extensions are worthless and he will lose his farm in the end. Today there are thousands of farmers who are living in the homes they once owned while the county pays the rent and the mortgage holder, now the owner, rents out the farm. They have had their extensions and it has not saved the farm. It has lengthened the agony a little, but it has been of no real help.

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VOTE SOCIAL LABOR PARTY TICKET

New York Labor News Company

Socialist Labor Party Platform

State of New York

AARON M. ORANGE
Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for Governor
of the State of New York

Two years have passed since the workers of New York State, imagining themselves a power in the state, registered their "sovereign ... the ballot box. The idea of ...deal" was hot in the air ... and the voters of the ...ned upon a *New Deal* ... Since then they have ... supposedly made a ...he city government ...ork as well, oust- ... putting up "Fus- ... caused no little ...eated attempts at ... on the old politi- ...ch no groups of political string-pullers appear to be able to agree.

Thus two years have passed—two years which to the workers of New York spell only accumulated misery and an ever greater dread of the present and the future. Unemployment is rife, wages for the "lucky" few who have work are down to a minimum, the past generation is thrown on the ash-heap, the rising generation finds no place for itself in the social structure. Many factories are standing still, industrial and public service branches are highly overdeveloped, the professions are glutted; such work as has been "created," by much fussing and fuming in the past two years, fully 90 per cent of it useless tinkering, has the sourish, suffocating smell of charity—degrading, mentally and physically, to all who partake thereof, no matter how great their necessity. This is the snapshot of the present and the future, the hope and destination of the workers of the great Empire State.

In the meantime state and local governments are plodding along in the old, old way, without vision, without even a serious thought of solving the real problems that confront humanity in the present all-embracing crisis. We need not necessarily or always lay this to dishonesty. The inability to wrestle with the social and economic problems of the world are inherent in the politician, because they are inherent in the Political State which

EMIL F. TEICHERT
Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for Lieutenant Governor
of the State of New York

is his only field of action and which, therefore, embraces his entire horizon. The present Political State, in turn, is the creature of capitalism, the private ownership of the means of life and of wealth production, and hence the politician is the servant, the creature of the capitalist overlord, who, at this hour in history, has grown into a useless ogre sucking the substance from the entire nation of useful producers, leaving these to starve and rot when he cannot employ them to his ever greater profit.

The politician's "service" consists in keeping the political machinery

COME TO S. L. P.
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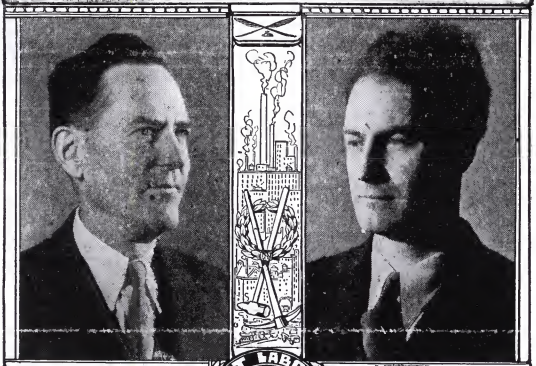
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES



FOR PRESIDENT
VERNE L. REYNOLDS
OF
NEW YORK

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN W. AIKEN
OF
MASSACHUSETTS

PLATFORM
OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Social systems and their corresponding forms of government come into being as results of social forces making for social progress. The purpose of governments is ostensibly to insure life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness of the useful members of society.

Whenever a society fails in or becomes destructive of these ends, it has self-evidently outlived its usefulness, rendering it imperative for the exploited and oppressed class to organize its forces to put an end to the outworn social system.

Such a crucial period of history is facing humanity today, and in view of this the Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled, May 1, 1932, reaffirms its former platform declarations and in accord with international Socialist principles declares:

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

John L. Lewis Exposed

Lewis! Political Bargain Hunter!

ERIC HASS

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Champion of Civilized Principles

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All Power to the
Socialist
Industrial Union

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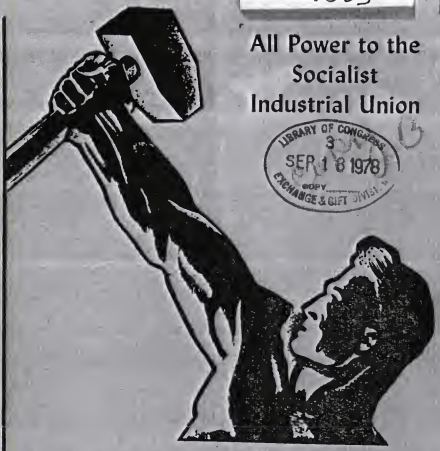

DEMOCRACY vs. DICTATORSHIP IN INDUSTRY

A Socialist Declaration of Principles

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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

THE MENACE OF MILITARISM

YOUTH WILL BE SERVED!

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WITHDRAW FROM RUSSIA

TO THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA
AND TO ALL FRIENDS OF FREEDOM:—

We address you to arouse your attention, to awaken your conscience and to enlist your aid in the matter of putting an end to Allied intervention in Russia, particularly in ending American participation therein.

Inception of Intervention During the War.

Intervention in Russia was born as soon as the workers and poor peasants of Russia had made an end of the regime of Kerensky, had withdrawn Russia from the war and had begun the work of nationalizing the land and all other natural resources of the country. All those who have a memory for important events will recall that the reasons then advanced were somewhat different from the reasons now presented. It was held that the Allied countries had shipped large quantities of war material to both Vladivostok and to Archangel and that it was necessary to send troops into Russia in order to protect this war material. Thoughtful persons were never deceived by these flimsy pretexts. They knew that Vladivostok was 7,000 miles away from the German front and they also knew that whatever stores there might be at Archangel were equally safe so far as the Germans were concerned. The interventionists, to bolster up their flimsy tale, resorted to all sorts of statements that the Russian Soviet Republic, or its leaders, were in German pay and were therefore anxious to place these stores into the hands of the Germans. Thoughtful persons discounted these tales just as they discounted the original pretexts; they knew that the Russian Soviet Republic was the implacable foe of German imperialism and today the en-

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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
OF AMERICA

What Is Socialism?

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As graft and corruption, on the one hand, and unemployment, on the other, increase and multiply, we more and more frequently hear the remark: "Well, it will surely come to a revolution in this country." The vagueness of this remark always reflects the vagueness of ideas of the speaker. A "revolution" generally implies nothing more than a general free, a scrap, a bloodbath, and then somehow by the grace of something unknown, things will eventually become better—whether we live to see it or not. A lack of comprehension of the true nature of capitalist society in such vague notions is self-evident.

What Is the Goal?

Revolution, whether bloody or peaceful, is only a means to an end. Without a definite goal, a scrap, even the bloodiest, will lead nowhere; and with a definite goal and clear vision the bloody fight may even be avoided. The goal for which the working class must strive is SOCIALISM; there is no other in sight.

The Germ of a New Society.

It is now clearly comprehended by every student of social science that social systems are born like all other organisms, that they grow, fulfill their mission in society, become outworn and are either forcibly thrown aside or collapse from old age and degeneracy and leave nothing but chaos and destruction in their wake until new societies grow upon the ruins. Capitalism, the present system of society, is now close to such a state of final collapse. That is exactly what all the present disorder, graft corruption, starvation in the midst of [illegible]ty and general and widespread misery portend.

But it is, on the other hand, equally well known to social science that any system before it dies actually casts forth its own successor—as a parent does its child. The foetus of the future society is growing today within capitalism—that foetus is Socialism.

What Socialism Is Not.

Before we go any further it is necessary to call attention to the fact that everything that is labeled Socialism today is not Socialism. Most genuinely popular articles suffer from imitations, counterfeits. It is so with Socialism. Huge machines have been created for "lying about Socialism"; social democracies, socialist parties, social patriots, ministerial socialists, and what not, have taken the name in vain. Cooperation with capitalism to make it a little more tolerable so that it may last longer is not Socialism; reduced taxation for the suffering but labor-exploiting middle class so that it may continue to exploit labor, is not Socialism; cheap water, gas, electricity is not Socialism; workers' compensation and unemployment insurance are not Socialism; not even shorter hours and higher wages are Socialism. These things are mere reforms, palliatives intended and destined to perpetuate capitalism—that is all.

Wage Slavery.

Capitalism is based on the private ownership of the means of wealth production, that is, the means of life. These means of production today have outgrown private control as well as private operation. They are, however, owned by a few. The mass, that is, the workers, are for all purposes of production, *propertyless*, that is, they are toolless. In order to live, the workers must get jobs from the capitalist owners. In simple sociological terms, this means that they must sell themselves into wage slavery from day to day, from year to year. If the sale fails, that is, if there is no job, the worker starves. The million mass of workers are in this position today and due to the tremendous development of "labor saving" machinery—which saves the paying of wages by the capitalists—millions

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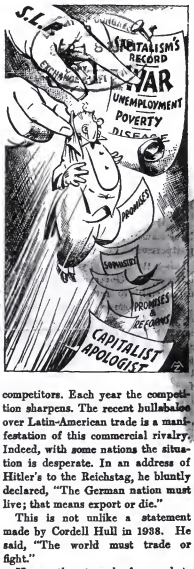
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
OF AMERICA

#162

War— What For?



> But war's a game, which, were their subjects wise, Kings would not play at.—*Cowper.*

Once again the rulers of the great capitalist powers are sending their workers to slaughter and be slaughtered. Twenty-odd years ago a comparable situation prevailed. We, in America, were beguiled into fighting to "make the world safe for democracy," shoulder to shoulder with Czarist Russia, then the most despotic government on earth. After the slaughter the truth, which the Socialist Labor Party had declaimed in vain, slowly came out. It then became common knowledge that the real force behind the war was not devotion for an abstract ideal, but the material interests of our ruling class.

Only the noblest aims can justify a war. The working class knows this and will not support a war unless it believes the object to be a noble one. That is why capitalist governments are dusting off old catchwords and inventing new ones. A typical example of tub-thumping jingoism is the following excerpt from a speech by Senator Key Pittman:

"It is evident that no person can die but once, and the period of life is limited; and that it is far better to die a few days earlier for Christianity, justice and liberty than to live a little longer in cowardice and degeneracy."

All thinking persons know that "Christianity," "justice" and "liberty" are not the issues of the present war, but merely a smokescreen behind which the real issues will be fought out. Let us ask ourselves why the ruling powers of the world want a war. Better still, let us enumerate the real, underlying causes of modern war. They are:

1. The struggle for markets.
2. The destruction of surpluses.
3. The postponement of social revolution.

As to the first: Inasmuch as the workers receive only a fraction of what they produce in the form of wages they can buy back only a fraction of the product of their labor. The rest is plunder, a part of which is waste. But even through deliberate and wanton waste the capitalist class cannot destroy it all. A part remains to glut the market. If production is not to be paralyzed, the surplus which has not been destroyed or used up must be disposed of in the foreign market. And there's the rub.

Surpluses increase as our capacity to produce wealth expands, but the markets shrink in even faster ratio. Countries which are markets one decade, import machinery, exploit their own working class and become *competitors* the next. Just as munitions makers sell guns to a potential enemy power, the capitalists sell machinery to potential commercial competitors. Each year the competition sharpens. The recent hullabaloo over Latin-American trade is a manifestation of this commercial rivalry. Indeed, with some nations the situation is desperate. In an address of Hitler's to the Reichstag, he bluntly declared, "The German nation must live; that means export or die."

This is not unlike a statement made by Cordell Hull in 1938. He said, "The world must trade or fight."

Hence, the struggle for markets between the nations which have" and those which "have not" is a primary underlying cause for war.

The second underlying cause of war is an overpowering desire for the *profits from waste and destruction*. Already steel, chemicals, arms, aircraft, shipbuilding, and other U.S. industries are enjoying a boom as the insane arms program hits its stride. But this nation cannot continue to produce armaments like mad for-

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THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC
OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

WHO AND WHAT ARE THE BOLSHEVIKI?

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

On March 15, 1917, the blood-soaked regime of the Czar of All the Russias was swept into the dust-bin of history. The workers and peasants of Russia, fired to death of the corrupt and oppressive gang that had ridden on their backs and had kept them in poverty and in misery, cleaned up the whole crew in short order. The war had put arms into their hands and common sense into their heads and bound them together both to rid themselves of their oppressors.

Thereupon, a number of things began to happen. First, an attempt was made again to establish the monarchy with a constitutional cloak. It failed. Next, it was tried to foist upon the country a capitalist government such as the western nations "enjoy." That, too, failed. Finally, the schemers, finding the rapidly forming workers' and peasants' and soldiers' councils too strong to be set aside, a compromise was entered into and a coalition government was formed under the premiership of Kerensky. Like all compromise arrangements, the Kerensky government had in it the germ of destruction when it was born. The Russian people wanted above all things to get out of the war; the Kerensky government, torn by conflicting interests, kept them in the war though they had nothing to wage war with. The peasants of Russia wanted and NEEDED land very badly; the Kerensky government strung them along with promises but gave them nothing. It did give to Russia under Allied pressure new offensive military operations, the so-called June offensive under Korniloff, which ended in a terrible rout and definitely settled the fate of the Kerensky regime.

During all this time, the attitude of the American capitalist press had been of the I-pat-you-on-the-back-if-you-do-as-I-tell-you kind. This press had hailed the fall of the Czar who had mismanaged the war and who was suspected of wishing to make peace, a wish generated in a desire to save his own skin. Toward the Kerensky government, this press was tolerant, well-wishing and all that sort of thing. They felt that with this kind of Russian class—might be done and one could even hope—the best of these innocents when it came to driving slick bargains in the nature. But then something happened—all this something that dumped the Kerensky government and transformed the American press from a patronizing well-wisher into a vituperated liar and slanderer ever busy inventing and spreading new tales of horror. What had come to pass? It was this:

On November 7, 1917, the Russian workers, soldiers and peasants, having had enough of dilly-dallying and shilly-shallying, made up their minds to take their fate into their own hands and set up a government of, by and for themselves. Several factors existed that made this possible. First, they had the numbers, since they formed more than 90 per cent. of the population; second, they had a purpose based upon a clear understanding as to what they wanted; and, third, and most important—let the working class reader make a special mental note right here—THEY HAD THE ORGANIZATION THAT ENABLED THEM TO ACT TOGETHER FOR THEIR OWN GOOD. The Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils (Soviets) were the only real organized power in the land. They had arms, they had understanding of their needs and of their power, they had organization and, thus, they had their fate in their own hands. THEY ACTED ALONG THE LINE OF THEIR CLASS INTERESTS.

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THE UNION JACK BUILT

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THESE ARE THE FAKERS WHO LIVE OFF THE UNION THAT "JACK" BUILT.

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Fight JIM CROW Lynch Law In New York State!

Four Negro brothers, two soldiers, a sailor and a civilian were brutally assaulted on February 5th by a policeman in Freeport, Long Island. Three were shot in cold blood. Two of them died. The third was thrown into a naval brig and is now being held for court martial. The fourth was railroaded to prison. The names of these four brothers are Charles, Alphonse, Joseph and Richard Ferguson.

The policeman, Romeika, who committed this monstrous crime goes free. He is shielded behind the alleged charge that the brothers were guilty of "disorderly conduct." But the Ferguson brothers who were celebrating their reunion after three years of service in the armed forces, had only protested against being refused service in a Jim Crow cafe and left peacefully. **The facts show they were guilty of nothing!**

The Nassau County officials are trying to whitewash this unprovoked assault and cold blooded murder of unarmed and defenseless men. The state administration has done nothing. The Big Business press continues its conspiracy of silence around the case.

CRIME AGAINST ALL LABOR

This crime was not committed in the deep South where the Southern Bourbons rule through Jim Crow lynch law, murder and violence. **It happened here in New York!** It is a warning signal to the whole labor movement and all minority peoples that Jim Crow lynch law is rearing its ugly head in the North as well as the South, encouraged by the legal lynching of the FEPC bill in Congress.

The reactionary Big Business forces are determined to provoke racial conflicts in their drive to divide the working class, break the organized labor movement and reinstitute the open shop.

CALL TO ACTION

We call upon the CIO and AFL immediately to initiate a broad united committee of action. This must be based on the widest possible representation from all unions, veterans groups, Negro, fraternal, civil liberties and working-class organizations.

Such a broad committee should create at once a Public Committee of Investigation to expose and publicize the facts in this case. No reliance can be placed on the Freeport local administration which has tried to whitewash these crimes, nor on the state administration which has maintained complete silence, to reveal the truth.

WE DEMAND:

1. IMMEDIATE INDICTMENT OF PATROLMAN ROMEIKA FOR MURDER!
2. IMMEDIATE RELEASE FROM THE NAVAL BRIG AND COMPLETE EXONERATION OF THE WOUNDED FERGUSON SAILOR.
3. IMMEDIATE RELEASE FROM JAIL AND COMPLETE EXONERATION OF THE FERGUSON COMBAT VETERAN!
4. FULL INDEMNITY TO THE FAMILIES OF THE MURDERED BROTHERS!
5. IMPEACHMENT AND REMOVAL OF THE PUBLIC OFFICIALS WHO HAVE CONDONED THESE CRIMES!

This is the fight of the workers, black and white alike, against race hatred, Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, and for the unity of the labor movement. **JOIN THE FIGHT!**

Issued by the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), New York Local

(over)

SAMPLE BALLOT

In District 15, vote for the following:

For Councilman	
LOUIS KISNER	☒
For Board of Education	
Office No. 5	
WALTER J. TURNER	☒
Office No. 7	
H. CLAUDE HUDSON	☒

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Voters in District 15 have only this choice — the candidate of the Chamber of Commerce or the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

VOTE SOCIALIST! VOTE FOR LOUIS KISNER!

61-7559-2-6133

Vote for

LOUIS KISNER

#166

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE

FOR COUNCILMAN, DISTRICT 15

CITY EXCHANGE & GIFT DIVI

Louis Kisner is the San Pedro Branch organizer of the Socialist Workers Party and has been active in the struggles of the working class for 16 years.

The only working-class candidate for the working-class communities of the Harbor and Watts.

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Campaign Headquarters: Room 214, 1008 S. Pacific, San Pedro.
Phone: Terminal 3-2289

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A Bill of Duties

FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPI

THE dearest possession of the American people is its heritage of democratic institutions, under whi men enjoy the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. ¶ Today this herita gravest jeopardy. ¶ Our rights can be preserved to our posterity only as we, the people of the United assume the duty of actively defending them. ¶ Therefore, in adopting this Bill of Duties we once more resolve that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from our land. A that end we, as our Founding Fathers did, mutually pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The Bill of Duties

Article 1. It shall be the duty of every American to affirm and uphold the principle on which this nation was founded—that ments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that the sovereignty of the people is supreme.

Article 2. It shall be the duty of the people to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States, and to require strict ment of the letter and spirit of the Bill of Rights, the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. And it shall be the duty of the p defend the right to strike, to protect labor's right to organize and bargain collectively.

Article 3. It shall be the duty of the people to practice tolerance toward all forms of religious worship, and to guarantee t exercise of religion, including the right to refuse military service on grounds of conscience. ¶It shall be the duty of the to speak out on all public questions thereby assuring that freedom of speech and of the press are preserved, and to guard j the right of others to enjoy equal freedom without government interference, intimidation, or economic coercion. ¶The shall have the duty to implement the right peaceably to assemble by assuring that in every community the places of assem freely open to all. ¶It shall be the duty of the people vigorously to exercise their right to petition the government for re grievances, and to defend all petitioners against blacklisting, intimidation, or other reprisal.

Article 4. It shall be the duty of the people firmly to resist attempts to pervert their right to keep and bear arms into license ployers to use private arms against workers, or license for the government to use the armed forces against the people the

Article 5. It shall be the duty of the people to protect their persons, houses, papers, and effects from illegal searches and s And they shall defend the rights of all to hold opinions, religious or political, free from spying or inquisition.

Article 6. It shall be the duty of the people to defend the right of aliens as well as citizens to have the protection of due of law. They shall require that the law be enforced with evenhanded justice against all offenders. And they shall take te